

UNPARDONABLE CRIME

OF

JINNAH

Foreword by

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Muslim National Publications,
Bombay 3.

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Dedicated to

Late SIR ABDULLÀ HAROON
(whose sudden and untimely demise is an
irreparable national loss)

Foreword

It is becoming a fashion nowadays to blame everybody whether a person is to be blamed or not. The reason is that some of us have not got the courage to put the blame where it should be properly placed. Unless we really are courageous enough to put the blame on the particular party which is responsible for the present political situation in the country, no progress will be made.

We are aware that one of the two major political bodies is in the wrong and from the collection of these extracts the dispassionate reader will find it out for himself that the Muslim League is not in the wrong.

Statesmanship demands that we should face facts. The co-called "Nationalist Press" has made the mind of the average Indian impervious to reason, by launching a crusade against the Musalmans and their leaders. Our news are misrepresented, our views are misstated and our leaders are painted in black. We have therefore been compelled to start the "Muslim National Publications" so that we may present to the average readers facts, particularly about Muslim India, without embellishments. The collection of speeches and writings which is presented in this first booklet of the series, will dispel to a large extent the misunderstanding and prejudice that have been fostered by interest-

ed and self-seeking political diehards. We are sure it will serve the purpose of those readers who really wish to have at a glance a full view of the entire Indian political situation.

I hope that the general reader will appreciate the outlook and viewpoint presented in this booklet and condone its faults. The collection of the articles and extracts may not be comprehensive, but it has at least one remarkable feature—it bears throughout the stamp of truth and sincerity.

Husein A. Begumahomed.

M.L.A.

Bombay, 12th Oct. 1942.

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Introduction

In the words of Prof. Jamiluddin Ahmed "the problem of India's future constitution and the interim arrangements during the pendency of war occupies the mind of every thinking man in India. The vigorous one-sided propaganda carried on by the press in India which is practically in the hands of one section in the Indian body-politic misleads not only people outside India but many well-meaning and unsophisticated persons in the country itself." Our opponents have started a crusade in the press and on the platform against the Muslim League, which is painted as a reactionary body blocking the way to India's freedom. Lies, libels and calumnies against the Muslim League and its leader are falling thick from the lips of "the votaries of truth and Ahimsa." The chief target of attack is Qaed-i-Azam Jinnah, for he has committed the unpardonable crime of refusing to be an accomplice in the nefarious game of "usurping all power in the government of the country by depriving other claimants of their due, legitimate and inherent rights." The only crime of Mr. Jinnah is that he wants that the Mussalmans themselves should be the final judges of what is best for them without meaning any harm to others.

A cool analysis of the situation cannot but convince the unprejudiced that the League has given the Mussalmans the correct lead. In the year 1940, when the problem of India's future constitution became the burning topic of the day, on the eve of the declaration made by His Majesty's Government, that the Federal part of the Government of India Act of 1935 was to be suspended, and the whole constitutional field was open to be examined *de novo*, the All-India Muslim

League put forward a scheme embodied in its Resolution passed at its Sessions at Lahore, which, in the common and popular terminology came to be known as Pakistan. The resolution was passed in all sincerity and honesty in the interests of India, which is, obviously, as much the motherland of Indian Mussalmans as of any other nation or community inhabiting this vast sub-continent.

Unfortunately, however, before this scheme—in fact a practical reality, the only panacea for all the ills, the only solution of all the confronting problems—could reach the public and could be properly understood, before it could be examined on its merits, before it could be put to the test of fair discussion, it was condemned out of hand by the Congress and other leaders, as an outcome of a diseased mentality, a cutting of the mother cow into two halves, a vivisection of Vishal Bharat, a counsel of despair, a dream of the Prophet of Separationism, a mental luxury of the Muslim League Fuehrer, a counter for bargaining, a cry or a hoax which will pass away with the efflux of the time and so on. Why all these unjust and unfair criticisms? Is it that patriotism is the monopoly of only those who are in the Congress fold? Or is it because others are lovers of slavery? Is it because Qaid-e-Azam is utilising the present crisis to feather his own nest and that of his community? Is it because the "Sage of Sevagram" with his "inner voice" and his "legal heir", the "Pandit of Prayag" with his "internationalism" have the "birthright" to mould the future destiny of India? Is it because the proposals that do not emanate from the Congress quarter are unworthy of a fair examination? Or is it because the proposal of Pakistan has shattered the hopes of the Hindus of Ramraj being materialised under, of course the disguise of nationalism and democracy? Is it because the Pakistan proposal does not contemplate independence? Or is it because it is not in keeping with

the Congress conception of freedom—freedom to crush, freedom to dominate, freedom to exploit, freedom to tyrannise and freedom to obliterate the very name of Islam from the pages of Indian History?

Why not let us consider the proposal with a fair, unbiased and unprejudiced mind? Let us examine our own difficulties first and find out why India has failed to achieve her freedom so long. Let us apply our minds to the proposal. Let us discuss it thoroughly, independently and separately as well as together. Let us clear our doubts and misapprehensions, if any. Let us clear our suspicions and leave aside our jealousies. Let us thrash out a constitution for ourselves and put an agreed scheme of the future constitution of India before the world. Let us make a joint and united demand and bid all our resources sincerely for the freedom and independence of our multi-national sub-continent. The communal settlement is an essential pre-requisite to independence and it is "the life's ambition" of many of us. Why then should we stand aloof from each other and say that the time for communal settlement has not come? How long are the masses, craving for self-determination and thirsting for independence, to wait? How long is our present leadership going to keep us in bondage? How long are we to watch the developments? The time has come. Let us be up and doing. Let us give to others what is their due and take what belongs to us. Accept the principle of "to live and let live," and there is no power on earth which can prevent us from achieving our goal as quickly as we desire. But, above all, let us be sincere and honest.

It is painful to know that many leading opponents of the League have not hesitated to shower unmitigated ridicule on the arguments advanced in support of its view, and Qaed-i-Azam Jinnah, whose political experience, shrewd judgement, clear vision, penetrating intellect, fervent patriotism and most un-

corrupted political life are possessed by few, has been vilified in the vilest manner in certain quarters where his traducers do not realise that their ways will not only fail to make converts to their views, but will most likely injure the very object they may wish to serve.

Again it is a matter of profound regret that the ideals, aims and objects of the Muslim League have rarely been read, understood and assimilated in an unbiassed and dispassionate manner. This booklet, which is a collection of articles, statements and speeches, will not only demonstrate to the world the unyielding devotion and the unbending attachment of the Mussalmans to the great ideas of Pakistan, but will dispel all the misunderstandings and will make the reader see the things in their proper perspective. It is hoped that this collection will supply the long-felt need of a treatise giving a concise but complete survey of the Indian political situation.

We know that the "ultra nationalists" and the rank "Akhandists" will give a cold reception to this booklet. But wide circulation and universal approbation are not our aims. Our only object is to educate the elements of all the communities in the sub-continent as regards the real problem that confronts us.

We may be permitted to express our deepest gratitude to Mr. Husein A. Begmohamed who in the midst of his various preoccupations took the trouble to write a foreword for us.

We are also grateful to Mr. Amiruddin Faiztay for the valuable help that he has rendered in various ways in the preparation of the manuscript.

Syed Sharifuddin Peetzada,
Mohamed Usman H. Nanji.

Bombay, 10th Oct. 1912.

PART I

“PAKISTAN”—S. S. AHMAD (Alig.)

They say 'tis "vivisection"
Of the Indian nation
In an unknown fashion.

It is an idler's dream,
A confused scream
For a selfish scheme.

'Impracticable'
'Unimaginable',
Is how they babble.

And when meet their seers,
With crocodile tears
They expose their fears

But these are morbid libels
From sworn but feigned infidels,
Wearing varied labels.

Preposterous, pretentious,
Hypocritical notions.
Disguised resolutions.

Phantastic desire.
To be India's sire.
Is what they aspire.

In the name of democracy,
With numerical supremacy,
Is their game of diplomacy.

But we can't be daunted
By sarcasms taunted.
Or vain fears haunted.

We want India's deliverance,
So save it from decadence.
And without a vengeance.

A home for us secure.
Also for them quite sure,
Without a basely lure.

On justice, fairplay, equity
Behold Pakistan's quality
Won't it stand till eternity?

Muslim Political Creed

(by Maulana A. K. Azad)

(The following are extracts from Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's reply to a correspondent who had suggested in a letter to the Maulana that religion should not be allowed to interfere with politics and had wanted to know as to which of the then existing political parties in India had the support of his paper, "Al-Hilal". That was 30 years ago, in the year 1912, when the Maulana had the confidence of the Musalmans.)

You say politics should be kept free of religious bias. But if we do succeed in this, what is left there with us? On our part, we have learnt our politics also from our religion. Our political thoughts are not only coloured with religious bias but are a product of our religion itself. How then is it possible for us to eschew them from religion. It is my firm belief that any idea acquired from other than the Quranic source amounts to clear 'kufr', politics not being an exception. It is a pity that most of our Muslim brethren could never see Islam in its glory nor could they appreciate its true worth and greatness. Otherwise, in quest of a political goal, we would have been spared the mortification of having to bow before an alien Government or of just attaching ourselves to the Hindus as the latter's camp followers; and for guidance in every walk of life we should have turned to the Quran—that invaluable gift of God to mankind which enabled us to become the first instructors of mankind in so many arts and sciences.

Islam brought for mankind a complete and perfect code of conduct, and there is no sphere of human

activity which it does not cover or leaves uninstructed. Islam rightly prides in its teaching of unity of God and it can never tolerate its followers seeking guidance elsewhere, bowing before others or running after other ideologies. In every walk of life whether it be temporal or spiritual, as rulers or as the ruled, civil or military, social, cultural or political, it contains a perfect and complete code of conduct for the guidance of the Musalmans. If it had failed man at any step, it could not have been the last all embracing religion on God's earth. It is the Voice of the Almighty Himself and it invites mankind to drink and draw freely from the abundant ever-fresh stream of light and learning flowing therefrom—a veritable school of God Himself. He that gives his hands in those of God never needs the guidance of mere man.

NEGLIGENCE

Our political vicissitudes and groping in the dark are solely due to our negligence in not making the Quran our sole guide. But for that negligence we would not be groping in the dark today and there would have been abundance of light all round, enabling us to steer a clear, straight course. How is it, therefore, possible that the followers of Islam should go a-begging elsewhere for guidance in their political activities.

Let me explain briefly that the aim of "Al-Hilal" is nothing else than to bring round the Musalmans to follow both in their beliefs and actions the Book of God (the Quran) and the precepts of the Holy Prophet. Whatever the issues—educational, cultural, political or others—the "Al-Hilal" wants to see a Musalman nothing but a Musalman in every walk of his life....I believe that a Musalman ceases to be a Musalman soon as he, for any of his thoughts or actions, draws upon any other source than that of the

Quran or follows any other organisation than that of the Musalmans. Not only that; he is also guilty of 'shirk' and, therefore, a 'mushrik' (one who associates somebody else with God Almighty, thereby doubting even by implication the Unity of God).

You want to know with which of the two political parties of the Hindus I have identified myself. The answer is that I have joined neither. I follow God alone. Islam being heads and shoulders above all known or unknown social or political systems, its followers need not run after the Hindus in search of a political programme. To allow themselves to be influenced by other political ideologies and accordingly to strike out a different course than that indicated in the Quran is a matter of shame to the Musalmans. They have no need to join any political party. They belong to a universal brotherhood which in itself is an everlasting invitation to the whole world to join, and they have been the leaders of mankind for several centuries before now—so long as they strictly and actively adhered to the instructions of the Quran. Let them line up in the service of Allah and the whole world will once again follow their leadership. They already have their own goal and their own programme. Why should they bow their heads before others when the Almighty Himself has allotted them the position of pre-eminence among all mankind. They are His trusted people. And the Almighty would naturally not like his chosen servants to bow their heads over other thresholds than His own—Al Hilal, September 29, 1912.

Solution of India's Troubles

Dr. Iqbal's Letter To The Qai'd-e-Azam

The late Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal suggested as early as 1937 that Pakistan alone could solve the vexing communal and constitutional problems. Therefore, his following letter to Qa'id-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah will be read with interest:—

My dear Jinnah,

"Thank you so much for your letter, which I received recently. I know you are a busy man: but I do hope you won't mind my writing to you so often, as you are the only Muslim in India to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India and perhaps to the whole of India. I tell you that we are actually living in a state of civil war which, but for the police and military would become universal in no time. During the last few months there have been a series of Hindu-Muslim riots in India. In North-West India alone there have been at least three riots during the last three months and at least four cases of the vilification of the Prophet by Hindus and Sikhs. In each of these four cases the vilifier has been murdered. There have been cases of the burning of the Quran in Sind.

"I have carefully studied the whole situation and believe that the real cause of these events is neither religious nor economic. It is purely political, i.e. the desire of Hindus to intimidate Muslims even in

majority provinces, and the new constitution is such that even in the Muslim majority provinces, the Muslims are made entirely dependent on non-Muslims. The result is that the Muslim Ministers can take no proper action and are even driven to do injustice to Muslims, partly to please those on whom they depend and partly to show that they are absolutely impartial. Thus it is clear that we have our specific reasons to reject this constitution. It seems to me that the new constitution is devised only to placate the Hindus. In the Hindu majority provinces the Hindus have, of course, absolute majority and can ignore Muslims altogether. In Muslim majority provinces, Muslims are made entirely dependent on Hindus. I have no doubt in my mind that this constitution is calculated to do infinite harm to Indian Muslims. Apart from this, it is no solution of the economic problem which is so acute among Muslims.

"The only thing that the Communal Award grants to Muslims is the recognition of their political existence in India. But such recognition granted to people whom this constitution does not and cannot help in solving the problem of poverty can be of no value to them. The Congress President has denied the political existence of Muslim in no unmistakable terms. The other Hindu political body i.e. the Mahababha, whom I regard as the real representative of the masses of Hindus, has declared more than once that a united Hindu-Muslim nation is impossible in India. In the circumstances it is obvious that the only way to a peaceful India is a redistribution of the country on the lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities. Many British statesmen also realize this and the Hindu-Muslim riots which are rapidly coming in the wake of the new constitution are sure, further to open their eyes to the real situation in the country. I remember Lord Lothian told me, before I left England that no

scheme was the only possible solution of the troubles of India, but that it would take 25 years to come.

"Some Muslims in the Punjab are already suggesting the holding of a North-West India Muslim Conference and the idea is rapidly spreading. I agree with you, however, that our community is not sufficiently organised and disciplined and perhaps the time for holding such a conference is not yet ripe. But I feel that it would be highly advisable for you to indicate in your address the line of action that the Muslims of India would be finally driven to take.

"To my mind the new constitution with its idea of single Federation is completely hopeless. A single Federation of Muslim provinces, reformed on the lines, I have suggested above, is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims. Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are?"

Sincerely Yours,
(Sd.) Mohammad Iqbal.

What is Pakistan ?

(Syed Ali Mohammad Rashdi)

The All India Moslem League at its annual session at Lahore passed the Pakistan resolution the operative parts of which run as follows:—

RESOLVED: that it is the considered view of this Session of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Moslems unless it is designed on the following basic principles viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the area in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority—as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India—should be grouped to constitute “Independent States” in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

THAT adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in those regions, for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where the Musalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specially provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.”

The Moslems have not been able to give any wide publicity to the ideal underlying the above resolution, but that job has been done for them by the All-India

press. The Moslems of India now know what is the final goal of their political activities. The very fact that it has caused a flutter in the dovecots of communalism has convinced the Moslems that it envisages something which is substantial. For had it not been a substantial thing it would not have created so much perturbation in the other camp. Dr. Khalid Sheldrake, the well-known Moslem missionary in England, once told the writer of this note that he had embraced Islam as a result of inquisitiveness created in his mind by the fact that the largest number of books in his college library were against Islam. "Islam must be a substantial religion, for otherwise so many books would not have been written against it"—that is how he said he first felt and when he tried to study those books he was convinced that it was the only faith he should follow.

If the Pakistan idea had not been a powerful and a genuine one, such a large quantity of ink would not have been spent in opposing it by the community which is essentially commercially-minded.

As to the history, merits and principle features of the proposal we can only make passing references and observations in the course of this note.

The background of his scheme is the same good old story of the majority community's determination to follow the principle of "heads I win and tails you lose", in its dealings with the minorities. Mussalmans fought for the Independence of India in conjunction with the majority community for over a hundred years. As a matter of fact they ruined themselves in that struggle. The Congress, when it came under the influence of Mr. Gandhi, drew a large number of eminent Mussalmans to its fold. But later on, they were disappointed on account of the instability and elasticity of its ideals. In 1907 it demanded "Dominion

Status", in 1919 its ideal was "Swaraj"; in 1919 it declared "Complete Independence", to be its goal; in 1938 it asked for a "constitution to be devised by a constituent Assembly"; and in 1940 it climbed down to the proposal of a "National Government". This frequent shifting of grounds in the matter of its ideal, together with the communal propensities of the dominating Hindu element in the Congress which had by then become obvious, confirmed the suspicions of the Moslems that what their Hindu compatriots wanted was not real independence of India but the Rule of caste Hindus through a parliamentary system of Government and under the bayonet of Britain. Later on, after the introduction of the provincial part of the 1935 Act, the Congress took over charge of administration in seven provinces, and within a short time there were tyranny and harassment and the Moslems could clearly see what India would be like when the Congress secured the independence of its own peculiar conception. At the same time, the leaders of the majority community had failed to evolve any formula which may have ensured security of the Moslem rights and disarmed their suspicions. The Moslems rose in revolt against the Congress and strengthened their own organization, the Moslem League. Even then, Mr. Jinnah in his capacity as President of the League made strenuous efforts to arrive at some settlement with them, but the Congresswallahs were in no mood to part with anything. They thought they would so demoralise the Moslems that they would cease to count in the political life of the country. Why then to take notice of them?

With that object in view, they started many contact movement, bribed some hungry adventurers among the Moslems to sing the Congress tune, intensified propaganda in foreign countries to strengthen their own demand, interfered with the ministers in

the Moslem majority provinces, distributed millions of rupees in those areas where poverty had made Moslem masses most susceptible to alluring economic slogans, and reinforced their press propaganda to put the Moslems in the wrong all over India and even in England and America. Not only that, but they even tried to complete their moral, intellectual and cultural conquest over the Moslems, for they knew that unless the outlook and mentality of the Moslems were so changed that they ceased to be Moslems, they would continue giving them trouble. They had successfully done the same thing in the case of the Dravidians. So this time they diverted their attention to the Moslems. They devised the Vidya Mandir scheme, the Wardha Scheme, enjoined worshipping of Gandhi's portraits by school-boys, and so forth. Furthermore, "With a view to ensuring the proper working of the administrative machinery on a national basis orders were issued by the Government to establish relations of mutual trust between the Administration and the Congress organisation and workers"—So runs the U.P. Congress Government's booklet "The U.P. Government at work."

The cumulative effect of all these actions on the part of the Congress on the minds of Mussalmans was most disconcerting.

Nevertheless, they refrained from taking the extreme step. From the platform of the Karachi Provincial Moslem League Conference, held in October 1938, they gave a warning to the Congress in the shape of a resolution which was to the following effect:—

"Whereas the refusal on the part of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress to negotiate a Communal settlement with the All India Muslim League on the plea that the All India Muslim

League is not the sole representative body of the Mus-salmans of India, indicates the Congress resolve to perpetually divide and rule the Muslim Community, and thus once more mar the prospects of an amicable and peaceful solution of the Indian minorities problem, for which the League has tried in vain for more than 15 years.

"Whereas the Congress has by means of its powerful press and purse, launched a campaign of Muslim Mass Contact to cause disruption and division in the Muslim community with the object of deceiving the world into the belief that it is the sole representative organisation of entire India;

"Whereas it has deliberately established purely Hindu rule in certain provinces by forming ministries or with Muslim ministers having no following among Muslim members, in direct and flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of the Government of India Act, 1935 and the Instrument of Instructions;

"Whereas the ministries so formed have established a sort of rule which has for its aim the intimidation and demoralisation of Muslims, the extermination of the healthy and nation-building influences of Muslim culture, the suppression of Muslim religious customs and their religious obligations and elimination of their political rights as a separate community;

"Whereas it has in open defiance of the democratic principles persistently endeavoured to render the power of the Muslim majorities ineffective and impotent in the North Western Province, Bengal, the Punjab and Sind by trying to bring into power or by supporting coalition ministries not enjoying the confidence of the majority of Muslim members and the Muslim masses of those provinces;

"Whereas Congress has superimposed the authority of its High Command, a sort of fascist dictatorship,

over the working of the Congress ministries to prevent the healthy growth of parliamentary conventions and establishment of constitutional traditions, to deprive the Muslims of their due share and have refused to reconstitute ministries in consonance with the constitution, having due regard to the rights and interests of Muslims;

"Whereas the Congress has decided:—

(a) to enforce Vidya Mandir Scheme in the teeth of Muslim opposition,

(b) to foist the Bande-Matram on Muslims and others as a national anthem in callous disregard of the feelings of Muslims who consider the song as not only idolatrous but it is in origin and conception a hymn of hatred to Muslims;

(c) to make Hindi with Devangiri script as the Lingua Franca of India in total defiance of the protests and wishes of the minorities with a view to inculcate Hindu religious ideas, philosophy and culture and establish dominance of Brahmanic culture in India;

(d) to introduce and enforce joint electorates in local bodies with the strength of their majority and thus deprive Muslims of securing their true representation;

(e) to close Urdu Schools wherever possible and discourage the teaching of the Urdu language, and thus ultimately wipe it off;

(f) to suppress freedom of press and freedom of speech and legitimate action under the pretext of preventing incitement to violence and maintenance of law and order;

(g) to interfere with the age-long religious privileges and usages of the Muslim community by force of arms and resort to repressive measures;

"Whereas the majority community of India has fostered and maintained since thousands of years a rigid caste system of theirs which is a negation of nationalism, equality, democracy and all the noble ideals that the modern world aspires to and stands for and which system has further superimposed social and economic inequalities upon a vast body of the people of this country and reduced millions of them to the position of irredeemable helots;

"And whereas the evolution of a single united India and united Indian nation inspired by common aspiration and common ideals is impossible of realisation on account of the caste-ridden mentality and anti-Muslim policy of the majority community, and also on account of acute differences of religion, language, script, culture, social laws and outlook on the life of the two major communities and even of race in certain parts.

"This Conference considers it absolutely essential in the interests of an abiding peace of the vast Indian continent and in the interests of unhampered cultural development, the economic and social betterment, and political self-determination of the two nations known as Hindus and Muslims, to recommend to All India Muslim League to review and revise the entire question of what should be the suitable constitution for India which will secure honourable and legitimate status due to them, and that this conference therefore recommends to the All India Muslim League to devise a scheme of Constitution under which Muslim may attain full independence".

In moving this resolution Shaikh Abdul Majid uttered the prophetic words: "I warn the Congress to mend its ways. Otherwise, time will come when the voice which will be raised at Calcutta will have its echo in Constantinople."

It did not however, change the Congress outlook. It now only gave larger bribes to the Moslem renegades to further intensify their disruptive activities.

Having thus, lost all faith in the Congress and in the idea of living in a United India under the rule of an irremovable communally-minded parliamentary centre, the Moslems resolved at Lahore, two years after the Karachi Conference, that they wanted separate homelands of their own.

The main principles on which this demand is based are these:—

- (i) India does not consist of one nation; it is the home of a number of nationalities;
- (ii) India has never been under one unitary system of Government, except for brief periods;
- (iii) Moslems are a separate nation and as such they must have their own homeland;
- (iv) Parliamentary system of Government was unworkable in India, and in this connection one could quote Sir Arnold Wilson M.P. who, discussing the Government of India Act of 1935, in his book "Thoughts and Talks" wrote: "Years must elapse before anyone can judge retrospectively whether the India Act was a feat of statesmanship or fresh proof of inability of British Ministers to realise that Western parliamentary institutions — already discredited in most parts of Europe — cannot be adapted to or adopted by Eastern peoples. I myself am certain—I have never for a moment doubted that the system of parliamentary Government set up in India will fail."
- (v) That India had already been divided by nature. In an area of 5,92,464 miles the Moslems were

in majority. Of the Moslem areas, the province of Punjab alone has a Moslem population equal to the total population of Iran. The Moslem population in Bengal is equal to the combined population of Turkey and Egypt. If Switzerland with an area equal to Sind could have 22 independent Sovereign canteens there is no reason why the Moslems in these vast areas of their own should not have independent states.

- (vi) A survey of the statistical position of the areas involved in the Pakistan proposal reveals that by carving out Moslem zones about 72.5% of the total Moslem population in India can receive permanent protection.

The scheme has found favour not only with the Moslems, but even with the Non-Brahmin crores in the South, with the Achhuts all over India, and with several other sections of the Indian people.

Thus, it is almost evident now that the proposal of Pakistan is now a powerful factor in the politics of India and in the words of Mr. Jinnah "No power on earth can now stand between us and the ideal we have set before ourselves."—(The Muslim Voice, 22 March 41).

League, The Sole Representative of Muslim India

Maulana Ahmed Ansari

Mr. Fazlul Huq, who only yesterday was loudest in his bitter condemnation of all non-League Muslims and even went so far as to publicly declare at Maner-sharif in Bihar that no Muslim should perform 'Jenaza' (funeral) prayer on the dead bodies of the Muslims who were against the Muslim League, has now come out with a statement applauding the non-Leaguers as the only true and genuine Muslims and condemning the Leaguers as untrue and false Muslims. He asserts:—

"The present All-India Muslim League does not include within its fold various essential sections of the Muslims of India. Chief among these are admittedly the most learned of the Muslim divines and who are considered as authorities on Muslim theology and culture; the Momins, who constitute a considerable section of the Muslim population of India, the Ahrars of the Punjab; the Khudai Khidmatgars of the N. W. Frontier Province; the Khaksars and most of the Muslims of Sind and other provinces."

Mr. Huq's statement is belied by his own utterances of only a year ago. But let us examine his assertions in the light of facts. Take the case of Ulema first.

"JAMIATUL ULEMA"

It is not a fact that all the Ulema are against the Muslim League. The very first martyr in the cause of the League was Maulana Mazharuddin, Secretary of the All-India Jamiatul Ulema of Cawnpore and editor of 'Alaman', who was murdered in Delhi by

some fanatics for his devotion to the League. Then the 'Shaik-i-Azam' of all the Ulema of India, Shaikhul Islam Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi, and thousands of Ulema belonging to his great order of 'Imdadia' scattered all over India, are among the staunchest supporters of the League.

Maulana Shahbir Ali, Maulana Zafar Ahmad, Maulana Shah Abdul Ghani, Maulana Abdur Rahman and Maulana Syed Asgar Ali are only a few of the cardinals of this most illustrious order of orthodox Deoband-Thanavawan centre, who occupy the highest position in respect of both learning and piety. Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi has published special pamphlets in support of the League. He sent a deputation of Ulema to the League session of Patna. His great 'Khalifa', Maulana Shah Abdul Ghani, specially attended the Pakistan Day meeting at Calcutta. There are thousands of disciples and 'Murids' of Maulana Thanvi who are all supporters of the League.

Maulana Syed Asghar Hussain, a great 'Alim' of saintly character of Deoband and many others are also firm supporters of the League.

Maulana Muhammad Tyeb, the Rector of the Deoband Arabic University and a grandson of His Holiness Maulana Md. Qasim, the founder of the Deoband Madrasah in the course of his presidential address at the Jamiatul Ulema Conference at Bichraun (U.P.) held on April 23, 1942, stressed upon the Jamiatul Ulema's Lahore formula demanding self-determination of Muslim League represented the vast majority of the Muslim masses, emphasised the point that the Jamiat at its Lahore session virtually embraced the League's creed and concluded with a strong appeal for the political reunion of the Muslim League and the Jamiatul Ulema.

Maulana Ahmed Said, the veteran Jamiatul Ulema leader of Delhi in a statement supported the

Rajagopalachari's move for a League-Congress agreement and recognised the fact that a vast majority of Muslims were on the side of the League and that the Jamiatul Ulema could never oppose Pakistan or any League-Congress Pact.

MORE PROOFS

The Jamiat Ulema of the N. W. Frontier goes a step further. It has fully accepted the Pakistan creed, expressed confidence in the leadership of Mr. Jinnah and sent their resolution supporting the Muslim League to Mr. Jinnah at Bombay to which Mr. Jinnah has responded in a befitting manner. The Frontier Jamiat is actively working for the League.

Maulana Sanaullah, replying to Maulana Abdul Qasim Saif Benarsi wrote in the weekly 'Ahlehadis' that at the very inception of the All India 'Ahlehadis' Conference it was laid down that for matters of political concern the 'Ahlehadis' Conference recognized the Muslim League as the representative of all Muslims.

What does Mr. Fazlul Huq say about these facts? Has he the power to say that 'Shaikhe-Azam' Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi, thousands of Ulema of Thanabhaban school, Maulana Md. Tyeb and Maulana Syed Asghar Hussain of Deoband and the Ulema of Farangi Mahal, Lucknow are not authorities on Muslim theology and culture?

To give some more instances at random Maulana Syed Abdul Wahab Bukhari, M.A., M.Th., M.L.C., Fazil Deoband, Principal, Islamiah College, Vaniyambadi is the Vice-president of the Madras Provincial Muslim League; Maulana Abdur Rauf Quadri Dnapuri is the President of the Calcutta District Muslim League; Maulana Md. Akram Khan, M.L.C., is the president of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League;

Maulana Abdul Hamid Badauni, is the president of Badaun District Muslim League, Maulana Husain Nadvi of Phulwarisharif is the propaganda Secretary of the Bihar Provincial League. Maulana Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang, Secretary, All-India Jamiat Tablighul Islam is Deputy leader of the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly.

Thus the facts remain that the majority of the Ulema are in sympathy with the League and are far from allying themselves with Mr. Fazlul Huq's Hindu Sabha controlled party of self-seekers and pledge-breakers.

As regards the Momins it is evident that Mr. Huq's assertion is merely an echo of the Hindu press. Who are Momins? Every Mussalman is a Momin or Faithful. If by Momins is meant the class of Muslim weavers the fact is that a vast majority—99 per cent of them—are with the Muslim League.

They knew no organization but the League. The League has been the champion of their economic interests in the South. They have nothing to do with the so-called Momin Conference of the few Congressites at Cawnpore. In fact they even do not know the name of the Momin Conference but are the workers of the League.

MOMINS ONE WITH IT

The great majority of Momins live in Bihar and in all the by-elections in Bihar in constituency polling, overwhelming majority of Muslim votes i.e., 7 candidates have been elected with their full votes. In the Patna by-election the Muslim votes inflicted a crushing defeat on Mr. Afzal Qayum Ansari who forfeited his security money. Mr. Ansari has since been kicked in the Hindu Press as the leader of the Mumins. The Muslim friends repeat that

calumny hurled by Mr. Hug against the Momins branding them as a community against the All-India Muslim League.

The League in Bihar, as in other parts of India, has been built mainly by the poor and the Momins are the backbone of the poor Muslim working classes. Mr. Latifur Rahman, the Momin leader, is the President of Muslim League Civil Defence Committee in Bihar. The League is the organization of the poor for the poor.

AHRARS AND KHAKSARS

The Ahrars have fully embraced the Pakistan creed of the League. Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar, M.L.A., the Ahrar leader of the Punjab in his statement supporting Mr. Rajagopalachari's move for a League-Congress agreement declared that the Ahrars would never oppose League on the plea of the Congress Muslims who, he said, were ready to sacrifice themselves for the realization of a League-Congress agreement. Mian Iftikharuddin, President of the Punjab Congress Committee also fully supported Maulana Mazhar's assurance that the Congress Muslims would not stand in the way of a League-Congress pact on the basis of recognition of Muslim rights of self-determination.

The Khudai Khidmatgars now have not the same influence in the N.W. Frontier which they once wielded. The League has won all by-elections in the Frontier. Moreover, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Frontier Gandhi, and Khan Ali Gul Khan, the President of the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee have supported the basic League demand, the right of self determination for the Muslims.

The Khaksars are not a political association. Their leader Allama Mashriqi has declared that the Khak-

sars are a social organization. Moreover, the Khaksar's leader, Allama Mashriqi has publicly supported Mr. Rajagopalachari's resolution recognizing the Pakistan principle and advocating a League-Congress pact on the same basis.

As regards the Muslims of Sind the coming by-election to the Central Assembly from the constituency of Sind will decide the issue. The League have set up Mr. Yousuf Abdullah Haroon as its candidate against Khan Bahadur Maula Bux, the brother of the Pro-Congress Sind Premier, the prototype of Mr. Fazlul Huq.

LEAGUE'S SOLIDARITY

But why does not Mr. Fazlul Huq accept the League challenge of general election to decide the issue? Why is he afraid of going to the country for its verdict? Muslims of Bengal even in their present helpless state are up against Mr. Huq who with the help of his new-found colleagues is trying to keep the Muslims down. I challenge him to come and see what is his real position. He can deceive none. No amount of hostile propaganda in the Hindu press will succeed in breaking the Muslim League, the only national organization of Muslim India. The days of Mir Jaffars are gone. Even Mr. Jinnah has not the power of going against the League and the ideals of Pakistan. The League as the champion of Muslim India and as the torch bearer of Muslim national independence is greater and mightier than any individual.—(Star of India).

Non - Muslims and Pakistan

Open Letter to Gandhiji

(Swami Dharma Theertha, President, Hindu Missionary Society, Lahore).

"If I were a Muslim I would oppose Hindu rule more fanatically than Mr. Jinnah, and even as an ardent Hindu I honestly feel that unless castes are abolished I should prefer to live in a Pakistan to living in a Hindustan. The Muslims want Pakistan not because they are enamoured of the new idea but because they hate Hindustan. The Harijans welcome Mr. Jinnah's move not because they would become Muslims but because they hate Hindustan. The people of the South have raised the cry of Dravidastan not because they have any love for British imperialism but because they hate Hindustan."

"The Muslims have lived in India for over a thousand years. They have reason to be proud of their own culture and achievements of the past, no less than the Hindus. But their social position so far as Hindu society is concerned is no better than that of the Harijans. They are untouchables in every sense. How can you ever expect a self-respecting Muslim to submit to the rule of a Hindu majority so long as he has no hope of ever being able to live as a brother-citizen and good neighbour of the Hindu? The Muslims' vivisection from the Hindus starts from birth and is preserved till death in all spheres of life. This is true of the Christians and the other non-Hindus. To all of them, the Hindu is a complete foreigner, and Hindu rule would be a foreign rule in the deep sentiments of their heart. You may say that in free India,

the Government would be a joint rule of the Hindus and the Muslims. But how can it be more inspiring than a joint rule of India by the Indians and the British Imperialists? How can the weaker party ever feel pride or self-respect when they are eternally condemned to live in segregation from the stronger?"

(Deccan Times, 6th Sept. 1942.)

THE ONLY SOLUTION

(Mr. Gopal Chetty - Late Editor of New Reformer, Madras.)

Mr. Jinnah speaks of the partition of India as the proper solution of the problem. Dravidians agree with him fully. India was always divided into fifty-six States. The term India was unknown to the Hindus. That was a name given to this country after the advent of the British people. There is no authority for the Aryans to say that it was called Bharata Nadu. We learn from history that Aryavartha is the name given to the place in Northern India, where Aryans lived. In very early times the whole country between the Himalayas and Cape Comorin was called Tamil Nadu as a stanza in **Purananuru** says. But later on another stanza in another book says, 'Tamil prevails within the four limits of Venkatam Kumari and the Seas.' Tamilakam or the land of the Tamils thus seems to have extended to east and west from sea to sea and North from Tirupathi Hills to Cape Comorin and to have included the modern States of Travancore and Cochin and the British District of Malabar."

(Sunday Observer, 5th May 1940).

(Prof. Karamchand Wade, Prof. of English,
Government College, Rajahmundry)

"Pakistan is the only method for mutual adjustment of Hindu and Muslim. It must come one day or the other."

(Cocanada, 17-12-40).

PAKISTAN IN EVERY HINDU HOUSEHOLD

**Pandit Sunderlalji, Saint-Congressman of U. P.
says:-**

As a Satyagrahi I am absolutely convinced that India will not be able to progress even by an inch towards the goal of independence without unity in the ranks of her people. Communal unity is the very basis of constructive work.

What I say may be unpalatable to you but I am prepared to say from the housetops. If your attitude is—let the Muslims march along with us if they want or we will go our way—India will never be able to free herself from the shackles of slavery.

I regret that the cleavage between the Hindus and Muslims have widened during the past few years. The differences between the two communities seems to stand as an insurmountable obstacle in the path of India's freedom.

WHO INVENTED 'PAKISTAN'

"The truth may be unpalatable to you, but it must be admitted that the Hindus themselves are responsible for the cry of Pakistan raised by the Muslims. The Pakistan scheme is not the scheme of Mr. Jinnah.

It is the Hindus who started the Pakistan. You have a Pakistan in each Hindu household. If a non-Hindu comes to your house for water you refuse to give him your vessel. But for this attitude, the cry of Pakistan would never have been heard.

CONGRESS MINISTRIES

"I regret to say that most of the time, certain Congress Ministries were busy discussing as to which community member should be taken for a particular job".

(Deccan Times).

Independence & Hindu Muslim Unity

BY BHASKAR SHAH

The necessity of Hindu-Muslim unity was never so urgent and vital as it is to-day and yet the grim irony is that Hindus and Muslims were never so disunited and estranged as they are to-day.

It is an unfortunate fact that this internal disunity is exploited fully by the British spokesmen and has become their trump card against the Nationalists' demand for the independence of India. It has virtually become a fact that Hindu-Muslim unity is a condition precedent to our political emancipation. And only the Independence won by Hindus and Muslims together will be real and permanent. We don't want any foreign power to oblige us in our fight for liberation.

Is the gulf really unbridgeable? I refuse to believe. If the craving and urge for independence is

uppermost and irrepressible, if the bonds of slavery are intolerable, we must unite in any circumstances. No sacrifice for arriving at a settlement will be so great as the sacrifice of our freedom for unlimited period. The advice of Mahatma Gandhi to the Englishmen to withdraw from India will become a necessity to them the day we unite. Our differences are unreal, they are based on false suspicions. As soon as we come nearer, we shall know each other better and as we are honest, no difference can stand in our way.

If we can achieve unity which is a question of life and death to us even by conceding Pakistan, if demanded by Muslims, why should it not be conceded to them? Why should we be so fanatic for the unity of India which to-day does not exist? Do we want a mere political and geographical unity? Why should we make a parallel cry of the indivisible India when it merely widens the gulf? Should we not be ready to divide India, if ever it becomes a necessity, if in it lies our independence? Should the dogmatism of the unity of India perpetuate our political slavery? And shall it ever bring us together? It is a paradox of the first magnitude that in the process of granting division of India, lies unity, and in crying for unity, we are preparing a stronger ground for Pakistan. The acceptance of Pakistan doctrine, if nothing else, will give an opportunity of coming nearer, and it will be a proof of our sincerity.

Our leaders have said that we are not to coerce the Muslims to the unity of India against their wish. We were also prepared to accept Cripps' proposals had only the demand for real National Cabinet been accepted irrespective of the issue of the division of India.

The fog of Pakistan, we know, is born out of a sense of despair and frustration among the Muslims. Muslims want as fervently and passionately the Independence of India as you and I wish. But it is a com-

mon experience that they are so suspicious about Hindus, rightly or wrongly and a proper treatment at their hands in an Independent India that they would prefer present political subjugation unless their future status is guaranteed. All attempts to disregard and minimise this point would be tantamount to aggravating those suspicions. On the contrary, promising their desired status would be a masterstroke of sagacity and statesmanship and an act of generosity and goodwill which will restore trust and harmony, and, above all, the lost Independence of India.

(The Bombay Chronicle, 18-5-42.)

Pakistan

(**Mr. Tarun Bhattacharia, former Editor Associated Press, International Times etc.**)

"Pakistan does not dismember India; rather it harmonises Hindus and Musalmans on equal footing and envisages the possibility of purchasing freedom of India from foreign domination at the cheapest price. Any other insidious method of taking Muslim India to Hindu India provokes rancour, jealousy and suspicion amongst these two communities and dashes the hopes of freedom and causes complete dismemberment of India for which Hindus and Mohammedans will be equally held responsible....It is a proud moment in our national life to proclaim, let Muslim India and Hindu India shape their own destinies of freedom."

(Assam Herald, 11th May, 1940).

(**Master Tota Singhji, President, All India Adh-dharam Mandal, Lyallpur)**

"Pakistan is the only solution of the communal problem, the only way leading to permanent Hindu-

Muslim unity, and no other solution can possibly be dreamt of."

(Press Statement—10th Feb. '41).

India - Not a Nation

(**Periar E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, Leader of Justice Party**)

"India was never a nation, and cannot be called Bharat desa, that the real remedy of India's troubles is partition on racial basis. Even today India is divided into varying Sovereign States. There are about 584 Indian States. There are also autonomous Sovereign territories such as French India, Portuguese India, Nepal, etc. Did any one protest against these divisions and partition till now? Is not Burma separate? Is not Ceylon separate? Is not India divided into eleven provinces? Did not Congressmen themselves divide the Madras Presidency into four Provinces, Tamil Nad, Andhra Desa, Kerala and Karnataka?"

(Sunday Observer, 28-4-40).

Dr. IQBAL'S SCHEME

(**K. RAMANUJA IYENGAR**)

"To the "Madras Mail" Mr. K. Ramanuja Iyengar, an orthodox Brahmin, has contributed an article and a new point of view. Power is passing to his countrymen, he declares, and 'though as a patriotic Indian I welcome the day as an orthodox Brahmin, I dread the event.' In his dread of Hindu nihilists and rationalists he turns to the Muslims. The Briton, he thinks, has been a neutral rather than a friend whereas the previous rulers of India, namely, the Muslims,

were decidedly friend and patrons of the Brahmins. He has determined to place himself under Muslim protection, and he appeals to all his orthodox brethren to pray anxiously for the fruition of Sir Mohammad Iqbal's scheme to secure a certain portion of India for purely Muslim dominance 'If the Muslim delegation in London succeed in this aim, then I would humbly suggest to all my orthodox brethren that we emigrate in a body to the north-west of India, which originally was our home.'

Freedom and Peace in Pakistan

By S. P. PULYER

Mr. Rajagopalachari has joined Mr. Jinnah, I too wish to join him. Pakistan is not such a terrible thing as the Hindus have fancied it. As Mr. Jinnah has said we should rather bless him for it. It will give us all real freedom and real peace and full unhampered opportunity to grow. But the Mohammedans shall have to face considerable sacrifice and difficulties if they really have to make it a fait accompli.

The 'raison d'etre' of Pakistan is that the Mussalmans are a separate and distinct nation. Ergo they have a separate home land. The corollary is obvious and inevitable:—They must withdraw from Hindustan and go over to Pakistan. This is a 'Sine Qua Non' an indispensable condition. The question of minority shall then be eliminated for ever and for all. There will be peace all round. But it shall require great sacrifices from the Mahomadans to tackle it successfully. The Hindus should gladly leave them to realise their dream. It will do us no harm. It is this attitude that we should adopt. In this connection

munity; and they suggest the same freedom to the Hindu community. Where is the harm in all this I ask in all humility? Do please enumerate the evils that will follow the separation if you have any clear conception of them, or is it a mere cry that every man takes up for the fun of it. Perhaps there lurks the fear that the Muslim State will some day invade India. Why do not Afghanistan, Persia, and Arabia invade India now? Why not be strong to repel whoever may come to attack us?

ADVANTAGES

I do not know what the Hindus will not forward as a reasoned statement of their opposition, but here are some of the advantages which follow separately and I would ask them to consider these dispassionately:—

(1) All riots over cow sacrifice, music before Mosque, all abductions, loot and arson, all pelting of stones over processions, all these will cease. (2) The question of language and script will disappear. (3) The question of education will become simple and extremely less costly. (4) The question of communal employment in public services will arise no more. (5) The police and the army will be trustworthy. (6) The Judiciary will be above suspicion. (7) The Executive will be strong and honest. (8) Politics will be free from all animosity and rancour. (9) Religion and social reforms could be dealt with by the Government. (10) The community would be able to feel a real sense of freedom. The fear and anxiety of internal disorder will disappear.

The crux of the question, however, is how to bring about the separation? How to make it a practical proposition. This is the most formidable difficulty that we have to get over. But that is a differ-

ent thing. The scheme is good beyond all cavil.... if you can only accomplish it.

What has goaded me to accept this proposal is the fact that our relationship is becoming more bitter every day. When we meet and we can not avoid meeting—we meet not as friends but as veiled opponents—the heart of each is no longer in its proper place. What will be the result of this pent up feeling if we do not part in time? Nothing very pleasing or comfortable. There is no other escape but this offer of parting and separation of those who have too much bitterness in their hearts to live together. Just think of Mr. Jinnah calling on his community to observe a Thanks-giving day when the Congress withdrew from Government. Give them this chance, if they cannot avail of it—it will go a great way to lessen their bitterness.

—Behar Herald.

PART III

Without Comment

(Rajaji's Utterances)

"I feel I have done the right thing. I do not feel at all ashamed. So many people have refused to think and out of 135, 120 have refused to think along the right lines."

(New Delhi, 5th May 1942).

"After all what is the "ghost" of Pakistan?....I am afraid many of us have not taken the trouble to have a clear grasp of it."

"Indian Muslims are in a majority in certain parts. One area lies in the North-West of India, the other in the North-East. In other places compared with the strength of other communities, Muslims are in a minority."

"The Muslims fear that if they join the All-India Union they would be in a minority in the Central Government and therefore have no voice in the administration though they are in a majority in two parts of the country. Therefore the Muslim League demanded that if the people of those Provinces where Muslims were in a majority so desired, they must be free to keep out of the Indian Union."

(Madras, 17th May 42.)

Rajaji—"The difficulty has been to dislodge the Muslim League from its position of control and influence with League masses of Muslims."

Pandit Nehru—"No".

Rajaji—"I challenge Panditji to produce results. Let him produce a settlement of the communal pro-

blem, and then I will go down on my knees before him. The Muslim League has to be faced boldly. It is no use arguing and telling the Muslims that Pakistan is not good for them."

(Allahabad, 2nd July 1942.)

"There has been a settlement between the Government and the people and the principal political organisations over whom such illustrious persons as Mahatma Gandhi and Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah preside. These are not small individuals—one has become as famous as the other and both of them are tremendously popular in the country. Each has a "blind following" let it be so, but it is a true following."

"Here are then two powerful popular organisations of Hindus and Muslims, both at war with the Government and therefore with all the operations of the Government. These are facts."

(Hindu, 11th February 42).

"It is all absurd and nonsense to talk that Muslims after separation will join the neighbouring Muslim States of Iraq and Persia."

(Madras, 15th May 42).

"The Muslim League stands quite as much as the Congress does for the complete termination of British power in India....I have tried hard to get from the Congress an explicit settlement of this question (right of self-determination for Muslims) and admit that I have failed so far."

(The Bombay Chronicle, 17th Aug. 42.)

Acceptance of League's Claim

(Madras Legislature Congress Party's Initiative.)

A meeting of the Madras Legislature Congress Party held on Thursday 23rd April, under the Presidentship of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, passed a resolution urging the A.I.C.C. to "acknowledge the Muslim League's claim for separation should the same be persisted in when the time comes for framing the future constitution of India and to invite the Muslim League for consultation for the purpose of arriving at an agreement and securing the installation of a National Government to meet the present emergency."

The meeting also passed a resolution voicing "the general feeling in this part of the country that there should be at this critical juncture a popular Government in this province doing its utmost to secure the requisite conditions for the people to play their part. The party is of the opinion that to facilitate united and effective action in this regard by such a popular Government, the Muslim League should be invited to participate in it."

The party requested the A.I.C.C. to permit it to take steps to this end, notwithstanding the general All-India policy followed by the Congress.

Congress bangs the Door !

Jagat Narian Lal's Resolution

"The A.I.C.C. is of the opinion that any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component State or territorial unit to secede from the

Indian Union or Federation will be highly detrimental to the best interests of the people of the different States and provinces and the country as a whole and the Congress, therefore, cannot agree to any such proposal."

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's Statement

"I entirely agree with Mr. C. Rajagopalachari that the Congress must arrive at a settlement with the Muslim League....It is surprising that the necessity of such a settlement has dawned upon Congressmen so late. When the present constitution came into operation, and the Congress won at the poll, if the Congress had treated the Muslims, Depressed Classes and other minorities in the right spirit and had given them proper share in the government of the country, no trouble would have arisen."

"I agree with Mr. Rajagopalachari that settlement with the Muslim League is urgently required."

"The passing of Mr. Jagat Narain Lal's resolution has, I am afraid, made impossible any negotiations with the Muslim League."

(Bombay Chronicle, 8th May 42).

K. F. Nariman on Grand Fascist Council

"Who could have imagined even a year ago, that Rajaji, till yesterday the conscience-keeper of Gandhiji, and for years the 'de facto' Premier of Congress Cabinet, would himself be a victim of the same Grand

Fascist Council, and would be so ruthlessly 'chopped off' by the same Star-Chamber methods that have attempted to send so many illustrious predecessors to the limbo of oblivion?

It is most pathetic to find stern members of the rigid autocratic tribunal, one by one descending to the prisoner's dock, and made to face and submit to the same verdict, which they themselves had recently pronounced against their colleagues. Subhas Babu, as President, was made to assume the unpleasant, and to him a distasteful role of 'hangman', to Dr. Khare and partly to the present writer, and, shortly after, was himself led to the same political 'gallows'. After thus getting rid of many other lesser fry, who were pricking, like inconvenient thorns, both sides of Gandhism, now comes the turn of Rajaji and his band of devoted and loyal Gandhites; when predecessors of Rajaji from the dock, put forward the same plea that he and his friends urge today, 'Rajaji' with the serenity and dignity befitting a judge, lightly turned these arguments down. Did not all the Congress victims before him, that were similarly and summarily 'disposed of' advance the same arguments about "freedom of speech" and expression, fundamental rights of member of an organisation to alter its policy and programmes? With that object did they not claim the liberty of carrying on propaganda against Gandhian dictates put forward in the guise of Congress resolutions?

To quote only one instance, when Subhas Babu claimed a right, not for general countrywide agitation as Rajaji claims to-day, but only for a limited propaganda amongst Congressmen, to enable him to get the Bombay A.I.C.C. resolution reversed at the next open sessions, did Rajaji, as important member of Working Committee support that just and constitutional claim of Subhas Babu, on the grounds urged by him today, or did he, as a meek and fanatic Gandhian,

vote for severe action against Subhas and his friends for their supposed acts of indiscipline and defiance? Rajaji will, therefore, understand if at least these victims do not quite appreciate his present attitude and protests, though they quite agree with his present constitutional point of view. Did they not warn him, then, in almost the same grave words, of the serious and disastrous consequences, both to the Congress and Nation, if Congress policy was allowed to 'rut in Gandhian pool of stagnation'? Did they not strive with the same zeal, earnestness and sincerity to prevent Congress being transformed into a spiritual laboratory, and did they not make every effort to restore it to its original realistic political canvas? If Rajaji had then followed the dictates of his conscience instead of blindly following his Guru, he would have certainly backed and supported these contentions. It is a cruel irony of fate that he has to pass through the same bitter experience to-day, that he himself contributed in inflicting on others. If any heed had been paid by a leader like Rajaji, to all the clamours and the political tragedies enacted to-day would have been avoided, and Congress horizon would not have suffered the existing political 'black-out' by the falling out of such brilliant stars as Subhas, Rajaji and scores of others.

The tragedy is not yet over; we will distressfully wait and see whose turn comes next to drop out of that evaporating constellation. Thus, one by one all the stalwarts are driven out, under one pretext or another leaving behind one central idol, surrounded by a circle of cent-per-cent 'Yes-men' "pujaris"; that is the dark and dismal picture to-day, of that once truly great and powerful political organisation, called Indian National Congress now more appropriately described as 'Gandhian Math'. Well might Rajaji

deplore and mournfully declare: "Had I obeyed the dictates of my conscience and followed sound principles, with half the devotion and loyalty that I bestowed to my Guru for all these years, I would not have suffered such indignity and humiliation during my old age."

(Bombay Chronicle).

Why I resigned from the Congress ?

(Dr. HAMID KAZI, M.A., Ph.D.)

Dr. Hameed Kazi, an old Congressman and a member of the Working Committee of Jamiate-Ulmae-Hind, issued the following statement to the Press regarding his resignation from the Congress.

"My associations with the Indian National Congress have been since 1921, when I had left my Government School at the time of the Khilafat and non-co-operation movement. Since 1934, when I had contested the seat for the Central Legislative Assembly on behalf of the Congress, I have been taking active part in the Congress activities. In 1940, I was the first Muslim to offer Satyagraha under the instructions of Mahatma Gandhi and was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment. All this I have been doing with the hope of liberating our country, but due to the absence of Hindu-Muslim Unity all our efforts failed.

At the time of the formation of a Congress Ministry in Bombay in 1937, I had pressed on Mr. B. G. Kher, the then Prime Minister of our Province, to take the representative of Muslim League in his Cabinet, as the League Party had twenty-six in its fold out of the total thirty one Muslim members. Mr. Kher personally was willing to do that, but he had to obey the orders of Gandhiji and the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee, who refused to form Coalition Ministry, and Mr. Yaseen Nuri was taken in the Cabinet who was neither a Leaguer nor a Congressman, and had no backing in the Assembly except of his own. This arrangement neither satisfied the Muslim League nor the Congress Muslims, but no heed was paid to it. In the same way in all other Provinces

real representatives of Muslims were excluded from the Governments. In Orissa and C.P., after the forced resignation of Mr. Sharif, Ministeries were run even without any Muslim.

RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION

However, I was hopeful that a Congress-League settlement would be effected one day or the other. All along I have been striving for it, because Congress-League settlement means, Hindu-Muslim Unity, without which India can never hope to become a free country. I was glad when Mr. Rajagopalachariar put forward the plea that the right of territorial self-determination should be recognized. This would have satisfied the Muslim League and it would have been possible for the Congress to work jointly with it. But to my great surprise and sorrow not only the resolution of Mr. Rajagopalachariar was rejected by the A.I.C.C. at Allahabad, by an overwhelming majority but the resolution of Mr. Jagatnaraian was passed, which denies the Muslims the right of self-determination even in those Provinces, where they are in a majority. This simply means that not only three crores of Muslims should be dominated by Firdus, but, seven crores should as well come under their sway. I had put forward a formula that after the recognition of the right of self-determination of the Muslims, the Hindus should win over the Muslims by giving them equal status in the Central Government. This would have preserved the unity of India, and at the same time would not have put the Muslims at the mercy of the Hindu majority. I had made a fervent appeal to Gandhiji, through the columns of the "Bombay Chronicle" dated 18th and 22nd June 1942, to accept this formula, but no attention was paid to it. In the last six months I have tried hard to convince the Congress leaders that either the Muslims should be given the right of self-determination or should be

won over by offering them equal status in the Central Government. But I am sorry to say that neither of my proposals was accepted. This simply means that the Hindus want to dominate over the Muslims against their will due to their numerical strength. I am afraid, this can never be tolerated by any Muslim though he may belong to any political party. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan in a recent statement had said that the right of self-determination of the provinces was conceded by the Congress Working Committee at Ramgarh. Why then deny it now? The denial of this right of self-determination means that the Congress is now fast moving towards Hindu-Mahasabha policy. This would, of course, not lead to "Akhand Bharat", but would disrupt the country even at an earlier stage. The only way out now is to persuade the Muslims to remain in the country by solving the Communal Problem, and not to coerce them against their will, because ten crores of Muslims can never be coerced.

CONGRESS-LEAGUE PACT ESSENTIAL.

Rajaji is doing great service to the cause of Indian unity by persuading the people to accept the right of self-determination of the Provinces. But it is a pity that life has been made impossible for him in the Congress. A vote of no-confidence is being brought against him in the Congress Assembly party and a man of his calibre is being deprived of the leadership of that party. Due to these dictatorial tactics he is being forced to resign from the Congress and the Madras Assembly. Very recently Gandhiji had sent twenty-five thousand chosen people to prison for the sake of liberty of speech, but is it not an irony of fate that that very right is now being denied to Rajaji and his followers?

Under these circumstances, it is as well impossible for me to remain in the Congress any more, and I have decided to send my formal resignation to the

President of the M.P.C.C. on the 15th instant on which date Rajaji as well resigns. As I am a Muslim, so I can strive for the recognition of this right of self-determination of the Provinces from the platform of the Muslim-League effectively, which body I have now decided to join. I am taking this step, because I love my country and her independence too much, and would like to impress upon the Congress that this cannot be achieved, without Hindu-Muslim Unity, and for the present the only way to achieve this unity is to effect a Congress-League Settlement at any cost.

(Bombay Chronicle, 17th July 42.)

In Defence of Pakistan

(By SHAMLOO)

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, till recently one of the guiding lights of the Congress and one of the most prominent Indian figures has suddenly been transformed into a traitor as well as an irrational being at the hands of the Hindu Press. His only fault that an unbiased eye can see is that he is a realist and tries to understand the view-point of those who happen to differ with him or with his colleagues. The Hindu Press which takes pride in calling itself "nationalist" is throwing as much filth as it till recently showered praise upon Rajaji for mustering courage to declare that the Muslims should be allowed to have Pakistan if they insist upon having it. The Hindu Press seems to have a very short memory; it is also narrow-minded in its outlook and blind to reason, otherwise it should have realized that there is nothing in Rajaji's statement to merit so much rude handling. Mr. Gandhi himself, sometime back, gave a statement on similar lines. And that the demand of the Muslims is just

and fair has been proved beyond any shade of doubt by the fact that the British War Cabinet conceded to the Muslims the right of separation. Rajaji's statement only makes assurance doubly sure. Let this—the Hindu mentality and the justice of the demand of the Muslims—serve as an eye-opener to the great theologian, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and he will realize that he is now in a very ridiculous position and that the best course open to him is to leave the Congress.

The more the Hindus try to argue that India is one the more one laughs at their reason. What is there after all common between the Hindus and Muslims—their religion, their culture, their language, or their social customs! And the following table will show that the creation of two independent zones for Muslims in India can in no way be compared to 'creating Ulsters' in India or to 'Balkanisation' of Hindustan.

	Name of Country	area in sq. miles.	Population
1.	Afghanistan	250,000	10,000,000
2.	Canada	3,695,000	11,200,000
3.	Burma	262,000	15,000,000
4.	Iran	628,000	15,000,000
5.	Egypt	348,000	16,000,000
6.	Turkey	300,000	16,500,000
7.	Rumania	113,000	19,500,000
8.	Spain	195,000	28,000,000
9.	France	212,600	42,000,000
10.	Italy	119,700	44,00,000
11.	Brazil	3,285,000	45,00,000
12.	Great Britain	94,277	47,500,000
13.	North-Western Zone	440,886	41,000,000
14.	Bengal	77,000	51,000,000

Which of the independent states enumerated above has no right to exist as an independent political

unit and why is it considered that Bengal and the North-Western Zone is not big enough to exist as independent states, let the Hindus say. Indeed, the Hindus are opposed to Pakistan not because they are really interested in the so-called unity of India or because they feel that it is to weaken India by creating separate zones but because they want to exploit both politically and economically the Muslim community which happens to be politically backward and economically bankrupt. This the Muslims quite see and, therefore, they realize that for them Pakistan means "to be". But the opposition of the Sikhs is unintelligible unless they are playing second fiddle to the Hindus. It requires no stress of imagination for the Sikhs to realise that in Hindustan they will be a negligible fraction whereas in Pakistan they will form a very respectable minority. And the opposition of the Sikhs to Pakistan gives more weight to the Muslims' demand, for if the Sikhs cannot live under Muslims whose very religion makes it impossible for them not to treat minorities with justice and fair play, the Muslims will in no way tolerate being placed under Hindus whose treatment of the minorities during their two-and-a-half years' political dominance in the provinces under their control was anything but just and fair.

Ahrars Support Pakistan

Moulana Mazhar Ali Azhar, M.L.A., the leader of the All-India Ahrar Conference in the course of a statement in support of Rajaji's stand, in the "Zam-zam" dated May 11 observes:—

"The simple question is: Should Indians establish Pakistan and get India liberated from the British bondage or should the Indian nationalists adopt the position that unless the Muslims gave up the demand of Pakistan, India should be left in bondage of slavery.

"We, Ahrars, have taken the position for a long time that we should not oppose Pakistan. We cannot tolerate a fratricidal war among the Muslims on the issue of Pakistan. If Pakistan is established there will be no harm to Muslims. The duty of the nationalists at this crisis is that they should not prefer the slavery of India to Pakistan. They should, by supporting Mr. Rajagopalachariar, help in clearing the political horizon of India of all clouds of communal animosities. So that we may be able to present a united front in face of every foreign powers."

PART V

In True Colours

Gandhiji on his limitations:

"Let me state my limitations....If Pakistan as defined above is an article of faith with him (Qaid-e-Azam), indivisible India is equally an article of faith with me."

(Harijan, 26th July 42.)

"Though he (Rajaji) has quoted me in his support I see the same difference between him and me that there is between chalk and cheese. He yields the right of secession to buy unity....I consider the vivisection of India to be a sin."

(Harijan, 24th May 42).

"To divide India into two is worse than anarchy. It is vivisection which cannot be tolerated....I will say to them vivisect me before you vivisect India."

(Harijan, 22nd Sept. 40).

Rashtrapati's "Fatwa"

"Pakistan is against the spirit of Islam. It could not be said that one part of the country where the Muslims happened to be in a majority was "Pak", and the other parts were "Na pak".

(A.I.C.C. Session. Allahabad 1942.)

Mr. Satyamurthi

"The acid test of Mr. Amery's ability and earnestness will be his saying to the Muslim Leaguers—ⁱⁿ Pakistan, no coalition ministries, no impossible safe guards. You must settle with the majorities. Once having said that the rest will be easy."

Pandit Jawaharlal

"There is no particular point in our discussing

Pakistan, because we have no common ground on that issue."

(Bombay Chronicle, 18th June 42).

Dr. Moonje patting on "Jagat Babu's back"

"Babu Jagat Narainlal who had moved Anti-Pakistan resolution in the A.I.C.C. meeting at Allahabad, was a very reliable worker of mine. To better his prospects he wanted to join the Congress and asked my permission to do so. I took a definite promise from him that while in the Congress, he would preserve and promote the policy and the programme of the Mahasabha and then let him go. I am glad he has been living upto his word."

(Calcutta speech).

Mr. Satyamurthi

"Moreover the position of the Congress is absolutely clear in the matter. We have always considered and will always consider the division of this country as a major disaster. We can never agree to that. We will never be parties to that."

(Madras, 7th May 42).

Pandit Jawaharlal

"Mr. Rajagopalachari suggested a solution of our difficulties but that is a dangerous solution. It takes away all that we have been able to build up during the last 22 years."

Pandit Nehru pointed out that he was personally against the vivisection of India and was rather thinking about a federation of India, China, Iran and Afghanistan. He had come to the conclusion that India should never be divided and he would fight the separation issue with all the power he commanded.

(Lahore, 21st May 42).

Congress President's "Sporting" Offer

Answering a question the Congress President said that he had no objection to Britain handing over power to the Muslim League or any other party, provided it was real Independence. That party, he said, "will have to approach other parties, as no single party can function properly without the co-operation of other parties."

(United Press, 15th July 42).

Mahatmaji Exposed.

"Jinnah Sahib has said to the Britishers 'if you give us the government we are ready to accept it, because it was from the Mussalmans that the Britishers took it over.' This however, will be Muslim Raj. The offer made by Moulana Sahib and by me does not mean that the whole of India should be given under Muslim domination. The Congress does not believe in such domination."

(Speech delivered at the A.I.C.C. 8th Aug. 42).

Qaid-e-Azam on Congress kite Flying

The Congress leaders have started flying kites individually for the purpose of foreign propaganda and for deceiving particularly the Mussalmans of India. The first one that found an echo in the House of Parliament is that the Congress is fighting purely from an altruistic point of view and does not wish to have any share in the authority and power of the Government, the Government of India may be handed over to the Muslim League and they will willingly accept Muslim raj rather than British raj. What is most amazing is the fact that Mr. Gandhi has endorsed such individual utterances.

TOO GOOD

"In the first place no intelligent man can believe the sincerity of such a desire, for it is too good to be true. But if they are sincere, I should welcome it. If the British Government accepts the solemn recommendation of Mr. Gandhi and by an arrangement hands over the Government of the country to the Muslim League, I am sure that under Muslim rule non-Muslims would be treated fairly, justly, nay, generously; and further the British will be making full amends to the Muslims by restoring the Government of India to them from whom they had taken it. I am sure Muslims would welcome such a decision on the part of the British Government.

"Another bit of propaganda is that the Congress is willing to come to a settlement with the League. Here again the proposal is disingenuous because it has laid down the basis of settlement to be the unitary federal government, knowing full well that the Muslim League is opposed to such a basis.

"It is evident that the Congress has definitely turned down any discussion of the Muslim proposal for the partition of India or the Pakistan scheme by the official resolution passed on May 1 by the A.I.C.C. Pandit Jawaharlal recently made it clear that he would not even discuss the partition scheme and that it was a mockery. I have noticed in the Congress Press the pre-arranged correspondence which passed between a busybody of a Muslim, who landed in Bombay the other day from Hyderabad, and the Congress President. It leaves no doubt in my mind that they have made most contradictory statements and interpreted the official Congress resolution of May 1 in a manner which is most misleading.

MISLEADING

"What is one to think when Congress leaders resort to such procedure and give publicity to it in this manner instead of communicating the proposals, if they have any, to me or to the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League? One can only conclude that it is meant for the edification of the public in this country and for propaganda abroad; and for a responsible organization to resort to this method, if it is in earnest about a settlement, is hardly compatible with its prestige and reputation unless the intention is to create disruption among the Muslims and to mislead them. I am confident that these things cannot in the slightest degree mislead the Muslims of India. They can no longer be treated as children.

"It is very painful to me to expose these tactics, but I have no other means of meeting this sinister propaganda in which the Congress seems to have specialized. I know it is said that some of my statements hurt it, but if speaking the truth, which is always bitter, and exposing the machination of our opponents hurts them, I cannot help it. The only remedy is that they should revise their methods."

(7th Aug. 42).

Sir Currimbhoy's Statement

"It is with great surprise that I have read the recent utterances of the Congress leaders that the Congress has no objection to the handing over of power to the Muslim League. These statements seem to be most misguiding and used as camouflage for their real motives. The Congress has no objection if power over the whole of India is given over to the Muslim League. May I know then why the Congress has raised such a hue and cry over the Muslim demand for power over only one fourth India to govern itself and establish their homes?

"Now, suddenly, the Congress has come out in order to trap Muslims, saying that they are quite prepared to give power to the League over the whole of the sub-continent. It is indeed surprising after the holy war declared by Mr. Gandhi against the Muslims' just demand. This seems to be only to trap the Muslims and fool the world regarding their real motive to have power for themselves, but I am sure no sensible person will fall into such apparently stupid sayings of the Congress leaders. Let the Congress take heed that whatever they say or however they may try to coerce, Muslims are determined and will not budge an inch or let the Congress usurp their just demand and right for freedom, that is Pakistan".

(9th Aug. 42).

Gandhian Philosophy

(RAJA SAHEB OF MAHMUDABAD)

The sage and saint of Sheogaon is a product of the Western Political Philosophy and thought, his anti-European externals notwithstanding. When you come to think of it, his conception of India as it ought to be is in its essential Western-born. Nationalism, Socialism and Democracy; Europe pins its faith on them, for minus democracy even the totalitarian powers are believers in and protagonists of these principles. If Hitler is a living commentary of Nietzsche, Gandhi is an Indianised Edition of Tolstoy, brought upto date, except his Internationalism.

"This ruthless and devastating war will not end war; nor will Gandhian philosophy of narrow nationalism aiming at Hindu overlordism in the guise of democracy, bring peace and contentment to India. The resolution envisages a Hindu Raj of Savarkarian type.

"We the Musalmans make an offer to Mr. Gandhi. Let us have, as I have said on another occasion, a laboratory wherein we could experiment on our own lines. The conflict of ideologies is proceeding with slaughter and carnage and the end is not in sight. It is about time that another ideology was given a chance to prove its worth. We believe that nationalism is a curse, that capitalism is a curse and above all that irreligion is a curse.

"Allow us to translate this political philosophy into reality; and the place where it will be worked and practiced will be Pakistan. It will perhaps be a model for the whole world to copy. Is Mr. Gandhi willing to consider this demand of the Mussalmans when he demands of the British to withdraw? These demands of withdrawals, with slogans and resolutions of Akhand Hindustan flung in the face of the Muslims are provoking challenges to Muslims.

"Mr. Gandhi has also time and again hinted at civil strife. We are not afraid of it."—Onward.

Truth and nothing but the Truth

Quaid-e-Azam's Morsels of Truth

"I do not want to go on repeating things. There was a time when it was necessary to repeat things to make our people and those who opposed us to understand us. The propaganda of the League and the literature and the meetings and conferences that are being held throughout India, our press and our opponents' press have enlightened us now as to what the real issues are before us....Let us talk less and work more.

(Allahabad Sessions, April 42.)

"The Muslims have not the slightest objection to the British withdrawing from India today."

(Bombay, 31st July 42).

"If they (Congressmen) can persuade the British Government to withdraw immediately even without Mr. Gandhi's qualification of "orderly withdrawal", the Muslim League would welcome it. It is a libel to say that the Muslim League is in favour of a continuation of British Raj in this country.

(28th June 1942).

A declaration that he (Mr. Jinnah) would himself lead the movement for India's independence and be the first to court imprisonment along with Mahatma Gandhi in the freedom struggle if the Congress arrives at an immediate settlement with the Muslim League thereby achieving a lasting Hindu Muslim unity was made by Mr. M. A. Jinnah to a Bombay Congress leader in the course of a discussion on the present political situation in the country.

(Bombay, August 16, '42).

PART VI

Reactions to the League Resolution of 20th August 1942

Moulana Hasrat Mohani

Hyderabad, 24th Aug. 42.

"I am quite satisfied with the main point of the Muslim League Working Committee's resolution sticking to the original position of neutrality, in so far as it frustrates the moves of the Government, of Mr. Rajagopalachari and others like Dr. Latif, who tried to induce Mr. Jinnah to agree to form coalition governments at the Centre and in the provinces without achieving the League's real objective—the establishment of Free Pakistan."—O.P.

(Eastern Times, 25th Aug. 42).

Negotiations with Congress

Unreasonable to Expect League to Compromise

Sir Reza Ali's Statement

Moradabad, Sept. 9.

Sir Syed Reza Ali, in a statement to the Press, says:

I am sure that there is no Indian and hardly any Englishman who does not want the present political deadlock not to be solved. How will this be brought about? Many non-Muslim friends consider that it is for the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah to take the initiative. Some of them are positive that it is time for Mr. Jinnah to see Mahatma Gandhi and settle the preliminaries with him. The League's Working Committee has passed an important resolution which embodies its considered opinion.

The League is prepared to negotiate with any party on the terms stated in the resolution. As the

League attaches as much importance to the acceptance of its basic Pakistan proposal as the Congress attaches to its demand of immediate independence, it is not reasonable to expect the League to compromise its position by opening negotiations with the Congress and leaving the latter free to press its demand, regardless of Muslim feelings and sentiments.

But apart from this an even more formidable difficulty supervenes. Suppose Mr. Jinnah went to Poona to interview Mahatma Gandhi and was told, which is more than probable, that Mahatma Gandhi did not have it within his power to reconsider the resolution adopted by the All-India Congress Committee, such a step would make matters worse. In the absence of any indication from Congress quarters it would be too much to expect that the Congress Committee would be prepared to make any modification in the civil disobedience resolution passed at Bombay. All this means that we are moving in a vicious circle.

EXCESSES DEPLORED

Any just and fair-minded person cannot but condemn and deplore the excesses that have been committed during the last four weeks. Sir Jagdish Prasad in his statement, has traced the development of the recent acts of violence to the absence of responsible Indian administrators in Provincial Governments. But why use this roundabout language? Why not call a spade a spade and confess that there has been no serious trouble in any province, where Mussalmans are in a majority? It is important to note that this does not exclude even the North West Frontier Province, where the Muslim population is 94 per cent and in spite of the fact that less than three years ago it had a Congress Ministry. In my humble judgment, the best thing for the country to do is to wait till peace and calm are restored and matters brought back to normal conditions.

character and composition as would prejudice or militate against the Muslim demand for Pakistan."

CIVIL WAR

Invited to say what he thought of Mr. Churchill's speech, Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah said that Mr. Churchill was right in stating that the Congress does not represent India and that ninety millions of Musalmans are fundamentally opposed to the Congress. He added: "I have already expressed my views about the Congress movement. It is not possible to defend the indefensible. I particularly want to emphasise that this is not merely a declaration of war against the British and the Government but it is a war against the Muslim League, which means Muslim India, and the non-Congress organisations, who were neither consulted nor referred to, but in spite of whose disapproval and in utter disregard of whom the civil disobedience movement has been launched in order to force the Muslim League and no less by other minorities and demands, which are most strenuously opposed by the interests in the country. Under the facade of nationalism the Congress demand, in short, from the British is to hand over to it power to establish Hindudom in this country. Its demand from the British is to apply sanctions against the Muslim League in particular and other non-Congress interests; because we have refused to surrender our demand for self-determination for the Muslim Nation. It is axiomatic to say that this Congress movement is unlawful and unconstitutional because its avowed object is to subvert the Government established by law but the greater objection is that this is a declaration of internecine civil war."

FALSE CLAIM

The Qa'id-e-Azam disputed a correspondent's interpretation of Mr. Churchill's speech as declaring that the Congress was not important. He said: "The cor-

rect reading of the speech, as I understand it, is that the Congress has put forward an entirely false claim that it is the spokesman of, and it alone represents, the whole of India. I think that no man who has got any sense of fairness can possibly say that is a claim which has got any foundation whatever for it. But that was the claim made in the speech of Mr. Gandhi at the conclusion of the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay and also in the speech of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Mr. Gandhi most emphatically maintained in his last speech that the Congress alone represented India, so did Mr. Nehru and he went further and said that the All-India Muslim League was a reactionary body and that the Muslim masses were with the Congress and the Congress represented the whole of India.

"That is not only broadcast here. It is broadcast all over the world, which, people abroad, naturally not knowing the realities of Indian conditions, believe. This sinister and systematic propaganda is carried on to mislead people and if you correctly read Mr. Churchill's speech he rightly repudiates this claim."

A correspondent tried to point out that the Congress claim was not that it represented the whole of India. The Qa'id-e-Azam, however, overruled him and said he did not wish to enter into an argument.

NO CHANCE

"I really think," the Qa'id-e-Azam proceeded, "so long as this camouflage is maintained by the Congress and other Hindu leaders who directly or indirectly subscribe to that untenable proposition, believe me there cannot be any chance of an honourable settlement."

An American correspondent: "Do you anticipate the possibility of a dishonourable settlement being imposed on India?"

The Qa'id-e-Azam: "So far as the Musalmans are concerned that has been my fear. We know in history many instances," he added, "of dishonourable action on the part of the most civilised nations in the world."

Questioned about the Hindu Mahasabha, the Qa'id-e-Azam said: "If I may say so, it is the same as the Congress. In fact, I think the Hindu Mahasabha is much stronger in its hostility, so far as the Musalmans are concerned. They make no secret of it, be it said to their credit. They do not resort to camouflage or finesse of the Congress. Bluntly and point blank they say that they want to establish Hindu Raj in this sub-continent and the Musalmans must submit to it and if the Musalmans do not behave themselves they will be treated as the Jews are treated in Germany".

When a correspondent asked whether he could infer from this statement that Jinnah-Mookerjee talks yesterday had not been very successful, the Qa'id-e-Azam said: "I cannot disclose the conversations but that even fire-eaters and people with unlimited ambitions become reasonable when the force of circumstances compels them to do so."

MUSLIM DEMAND

Asked if there was any chance of the modification of the Muslims demand, the Qa'id-e-Azam declared; "If you start asking for sixteen annas in a rupee there is room for bargaining. The Muslim League has never put forward any demand which can, by any reasonable man, be characterised as unreasonable. The Muslim League stands for independence both of the Hindus and of the Musalmans. Hindu India has got three-fourths of India in its pocket according to our proposals, and it is the Hindu India which is bargaining to see if it can get the remaining one-fourth also for itself and didle us out of it.

"There can be no compromise on the question of the right to self-determination of a nation. It is their inherent birth-right and to deny that is to deny their very existence."

BRITAIN UNWILLING

Reverting to Mr. Churchill's speech, the Qa'id-e-Azam said that the speech supported the Muslim League point of view that the British Government did not want Muslim co-operation and did not attach sufficient value to it. "Mr. Churchill referred to the enemy ninety millions of Muslims fundamentally opposed to the Congress. He then went on to say they had their right of self-expression. This is the only gracious reference by the British Prime Minister to the resolution of the Muslim League passed in Bombay on August 20 last. Is this an indication that there is any desire to seek our co-operation? Is this the only value you attach to the Musalmans and the Muslim League, that they are opposed to the Congress, which is a fact, and that they have the right of self-expression, which is a self-evident truth? Is that all he has to say?"

An American correspondent asked: "Would you be willing to form a national government with those who are willing to join one?"

The Qa'id-e-Azam answered by a counter-question: Does it not assume that it is in my power to shift from 10, Aurangzeb Road (the Qa'id-e-Azam's Delhi residence) to the Viceregal Lodge whenever I choose and say I am going to form a national government? How is it to be formed and by whom?

Pressed for an elucidation, the Qa'id-e-Azam went on to point out that the British Government had completely ignored every other party except the Congress. "The Times", for instance, stated recently, that no settlement could be made which ignored the Congress.

"I entirely disagree with that statement. But reading these things the impression left on my mind is that the British policy still continues to be this—that while protesting and emphasizing that the Congress attitude is an impossible one, nevertheless, nothing can be done unless you bring the Congress along with you. I very strongly object to it. It comes to this that you are dictated to by one party whose demand is admittedly considered impossible."

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

Asked to elaborate his conception of provisional composite government the Qa'id-e-Azam said: "It means a Government formed for a specific purpose during the period of the war. I do not exclude anybody", he went on, "unless that body excludes itself. I do not proceed on the hypothesis that this party or that party is to be excluded. If we have to undertake the responsibility, I think it is obvious that those who want to undertake the responsibility would naturally do their utmost to get all the help, assistance and co-operation from every section of the people, unless that body, person or organisation makes itself or himself impossible."

"The Muslim League is not supporting the war effort," the Qaid-e-Azam declared in answer to questions put by an American correspondent. "It is not that the Muslim League is recalcitrant or inimical but it is unable to give whole-hearted and enthusiastic support and co-operation in the prosecution of the war unless people feel they have their real voice and share in the government of the country.

"GUTS"

"But however much we may deplore and condemn the policy of the British Government during the last three years, nevertheless, our position is that

of a melon. Whether the melon falls on the knife or the knife falls on the melon, it is the melon that gets cut. Suppose out of bitterness and anger at British policy, I was to say tomorrow: 'embarrass, non-co-operate with the British Government, 'believe me, it will create at least 500 times more trouble than was being experienced to-day."

"It is not a question of guts. The Musalmans have five hundred times more guts," the Qa'id-e-Azam said in reply to further questions. "Any intelligent man in India will tell you. I do not want to cast any reflection on the Hindus. It is temperament and the way in which the Musalman is brought up."

After the Qa'id-e-Azam's description of the power of the Muslim League to hamper war effort, if they choose to do so, a British Correspondent inquired whether it will affect the army and the Muslims in the Middle East.

The Qa'id-e-Azam said that as this specific question was put to him he must answer it and proceeded that he did not wish to give any blood-curdling account and that he was not in touch with the army but he felt that as sixty-five per cent of the Indian army was composed of the Musalmans the League campaign, if launched, will affect a large body of the army and besides the entire Frontier would be ablaze, and that from the newspapers of the various Muslim countries (such as Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Egypt) he gathered that the people there were in full sympathy with the demand of Muslim India and that the newspapers in those countries were strongly supporting the Pakistan demand, and therefore he thought they were bound to be influenced if there was a conflict between the Muslims and the British Government.

WHAT RESULT?

Reverting to the point the Qa'id-e'Azam said: "But I say to myself, 'True we can give five hundred times more trouble, but with what result?' I can only see two results following. The foreign aggressor will seize this country, may be from the east, west, south or north. If that happens, what have I achieved with all my sacrifice?—a change of masters. And if the other parties are not with us it means internecine civil war. The other result is that if this revolution is set on foot by the Musalmans, I feel that even if it is successful in paralysing British power, resulting in its sudden destruction, the consequences of so doing will be that India will be broken to bits. And when I contemplate these results, however much I condemn British policy, and however strongly I feel, I say I am in the position of the melon."

VOLTE-FACE

"On the other hand", the Qa'id-e-Azam proceeded, "the Congress has made a solemn decision and demand of 'Quit India', from the British, adding, that the question of settlement of Hindu-Muslim problem cannot be even considered until the British have withdrawn. This is the latest position taken up by the Congress, which completely reverses the proclaimed and fundamental policy of the Congress for the last twenty-two years—that there can be no freedom and independence for the people of India without the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question and unity.

"So long as this basis is maintained," said the Qa'id-e-Azam, "where is the room for any negotiation regarding a settlement between the Hindus and the Muslims? And yet, day in and day out, it is urged, specially by the Hindus, that the Muslim League should make a move for a settlement with the Congress and torrents of appeals are made to find the solution of the deadlock in co-operation with the Congress."

A Word To Hindus

By Dr. S. N. A. JAFRI

We are passing through critical times. The war clouds are hovering over our country and the enemy is near our gates. The Hindus and Muslims who should have been engaged in removing the menace are yet poles asunder. Mostly it is due to the natural apprehensions of a minority, in this case based on bitter experiences and your past history. In the history of nations the minority problem has always been solved when the majority has been just and generous. Egypt is a concrete example of that where the Muslim generosity has killed the canker of communalism. In our case here false propaganda in your press and on your platform does not allow anyone to see things in their true perspective. The Pakistan is being presented to you as a bugbear. It only means giving Muslims an opportunity to rule in certain areas of the country where they justly should rule. After all even now there is a Muslim rule there with limited powers. There are always means of preventing tyranny and if the Muslim rule proves unsatisfactory the Hindu power in the country could checkmate it. We want Pakistan not to overlord the Hindus but to safeguard our position and to show to our Hindu brethren that we want to live here in a real spirit of concord and amity. Some pressmen propagate to you that we shall make common cause with the neighbouring Muslim countries. This is nothing but a brain-wave of fanatics. We hold India dear as you do, it is as much our home as yours and we shall not tolerate any foreign domination as we groan under a grievance against it now.

This is the psychological moment when we could put up a united demand for freedom before the British

overnment. A nation which professes to have raised arms to save the countries from the yoke of aggressions and tyranny cannot deny to us the very thing for which it is fighting for. The difficulty is that your leaders have begun to think that you can solve the problem of India without us. They do not give proper weight to our position. Our hearts are burning with country's aspirations like a seething cauldron but this separatists tendencies of your leaders and the lust for domination, prevents our joining with you. This is why we have been insisting that some preliminary settlement should be made with you but some of your leaders always stood in its way. You remember very well that it was Pandit Jawahar Lal who did not let a coalition ministry be formed during the Congress regime as a result of which the Congress could not know the Muslim mind and lost the position which it held among them. Even now your leaders want to minimise the position of the Muslim League in the hope that in this way they will be able to dupe the world in the belief that the Congress is all in all in India. Pandit Jawahar Lal only recently said this and now one Dr. Arundale, a puppet in your hands, utters similar nonsense. In this state of things when your leaders wish to win by propagating lies, can you blame the Muslims if they have shrewd suspicion against your bona fides?

You started a movement without consulting us and now you blame us for not joining it. It is a pity that your leaders did not even realise that a movement like this, sinister as it is, is likely to harm the public more than the government. It is indeed revolting on your heads.

Remember that the only way to achieve freedom is to make joint efforts towards everything which is helpful to attain it. The immediate problem, however, is to remove the menace and by the time we

realise its significance the enemy may be within our doors. You should, therefore, try to look to things dispassionately. With a spirit of accommodation and generous outlook you can easily solve the Muslim problem and as soon as it is done we will be with you and thin and thick with you in all struggles to achieve our goal. Will you show that spirit?

(Onward, 29th Aug. 42).

THE PAKISTAN MANIFESTO

Issued by

Muslim Youth Study Circle

PAKISTAN

is our

**DELIVERANCE: DEFENCE: DESTINY
WE DENY**

That we are one nation with the Hindus and the rest.

Nothing unites us save arbitrary geographical boundary and temporary shackles of slavery.

Nationality based on either of these must in its very nature be unnatural. It cannot, it will not last.

That we have any idea of exploiting or dominating others.

We are a self-respecting people. We respect others rights as we respect our own. We want to live and let live. None need fear PAKISTAN !

We Declare

That we are a NATION not a "minority"—

A NATION of a hundred million, greater than Germans in Greater Germany, and what is more, we are a NATION with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions, in short we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international Law we are a NATION.

**That no amount of threats or intimidations w
ever deter us from the chosen path.**

Hints about "a long civil war" we brush aside with contempt. On our part we do not want a civil war; but, in the event of others making it inevitable, hundred million souls shall look forward to it with the calm confidence of a people who know their intrinsic value.

We Demand

Only the right of self-determination. The absolute right to regulate our affairs in our own lands ourselves according to the genius of our own people, without in any way being ordered about either by the British or the Hindus.

PAKISTAN IS OUR ONLY DEMAND !

- ★ History justifies it.
- ★ Numbers confirm it.
- ★ Justice claims it.
- ★ Destiny demands it.
- ★ Posterity awaits it.

AND

BY GOD, WE WILL HAVE IT !!

MUSLIMS UNITE!

You have a whole world to gain.

You have nothing to lose but chains !!

—The Spirit of Youth.

